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871 tioning. Relations among students and between the principal and pupils are intimate. Many of them are relatives of the principal.

877 School subjects and texts are practically the same as in a city school of poor standing. Attendance is not strict. Teaching is not efficient. Collective recitation in a loud voice is still the most popular method in teaching language and civics.

When parents send their children to school, they have in mind that teachers will give their juniors a good training in knowledge and character. They may want a change in their children's occupation, but they certainly do not want any change in village mores and institutions.

872 178 Whether the old folks want it or not, this school has slowly but surely introduced the younger generations into the culture of a larger world. The texts they read have nothing about their own village customs. They have to read even the life stories of non-Chinese personalities. While informal education tends to conserve and thus forward cultural continuity, school education may lead the younger generations to give up their parents' ways of activity.

875 One more fact may be added. The school teacher who is a bit over thirty years of age is a very capable leader in the village. He is active both in and out of the village. Whenever officials, Chinese or not, happen to cause the villagers trouble, he is the person to help out and to negotiate with them. At home he tends to conserve the old ways, outside home he leads the villagers to new ways of activity. He is a marginal man, but his personality is well integrated.[22]

Social Communication

● 571 The degree of intimacy in the social relations of the villagers varies with the individual. Some are more communicative while others are less. Inside the village, there are circles of social contact and communication. Some of the contacts are voluntary while others are not. The leaders are naturally the foci of social orientation and public attention, but they may have separate as well as common followers. Some of the followers are nearer to the social focus

22 On the concept of marginal man, see R. E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," in E. W. Burgess (ed.), Personality and the Social Group, Chicago, 1929, pp. 64-77; also Everett Stonequist, The Marginal Man, New York, 1937.

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while others are barely in the social periphery.[22] A careful observation would indicate the following factors as of special importance.

The most obvious factors are sex and age. Sex is a factor of division as well as union, as already hinted in a previous section. A grown-up male and a grown-up female meeting in the street are not very communicative to each other. Husbands and wives are not very communicative in public. There is no tabu on communication between the sexes, nevertheless they are shy with each other. Consequently, each is a mystery to the other.

There are no formal age-groupings in P'ing-chiao-tsun, but the adults are very reserved in front of children. While children are very communicative when they are left alone, before their elders they too are quiet and non-communicative. Under such circumstances, it is very difficult indeed for parents to understand the thoughts of their children.

Anthropologists have given special emphasis to kinship as a factor of social grouping.[24] In P'ing-chiao-tsun, one-third of the families belong to the H-clan. Their houses cluster together in one block and occupy the geographic center of the village.[25] All the H-clansmen are descendants of three brothers whose father's name has been forgotten. From these three brothers downward, there are altogether six generations. Only one individual who belongs to the third generation still survives. He is over eighty at the moment of writing. About half of the fourth generation is still living and members of the fifth generation are still in the twenties and thirties.

The school principal belongs to the fifth generation. The head of the *pao* belongs to the fourth generation. These two individuals

23 J. L. Moreno has initiated a very interesting and suggestive study in social preference and social grouping in Who Shall Survive? Nervous and Mental Disease Monography Series No. 58, Washington, 1934.

24 "Nothing gives more insight into the intimate nature of social organization than the mode of naming relatives, ..." — Notes and Queries on Anthropology, fifth edition, London, 1929, p. 66. "By kinship is meant that system of relationships between individuals in a society which is integrally connected with the recognition of biological connection by birth and procreation on the one hand, and of a legalized social union involving sex relations between two individuals on the other. Basically marriage and the production of children, themselves intimately related from the social point of view, are the two types of links in the kinship chain." — Raymond Firth, We, The Tikopia: A Sociological Study of Kinship in Primitive Polynesia, London, 1936, p. 117.

25 A paper on the ecological structure of the village is in preparation.

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618 578 are the leading figures of the H-clan. Their relations can be characterized as harmonious, but in public appearance as well as in family relations, the school principal is subordinate to his distant uncle, the head of the *pao*. As to the other members of the clan, publicly, they act toward one another as clansmen, but inside their own houses they talk differently. Some of them even make accusations against their clansmen who belong to different families, in front of non-clan villagers and some of our investigators whom they take in as their friends.

608 The system of co-relations so popular throughout China is also found in P'ing-chiao-tsun. We have often heard the villagers say that so-and-so was so-and-so's *kan*-father or *kan*-son. All the kinship terms are employed except that a prefix "kan" 乾 is added to each term. There are rights and obligations among co-relatives.[26] Co-relatives are neither related by blood nor by marriage. Through a certain proper ritual, two persons or two families can be made into co-relatives. The degree of intimacy between co-relatives, however, depends upon factors other than the ritual itself.

609 571 Kinship terms such as "uncle" and "aúnt" are extended to non-clan villagers. Nevertheless, this extension is only a matter of courtesy or an expression of very close neighborliness and friendship. No segregation between clansmen and non-clan villagers can be observed. Indeed, non-clan individuals may be taken into the inner circle of social communication while a clansman may be excluded from it. Kinship tie is not very strong in P'ing-chiao-tsun.

571 From one of our investigations, territorial propinquity is an important factor in the matter of non-paid borrowings, e.g., the temporary inter-family borrowings of agricultural implements and household utensils. In many cases, a house-wife borrows fire from her neighbor's stove to cook her family meal.

565 829 556 The economic status in terms of the level of living of a family is a very important factor in social intercourse in P'ing-chiao-tsun. The villagers classify their households into three standings: upper, middle and low. There is only one family in the upper class. About one-third of the families belong to the low class. As already indicated previously, the upper family is isolated in the village, and their

26 The system of co-relations in China is in many respects quite comparable with the Pascuan system of ceremonial sponsorship as mentioned in E. H. Spicer, Pascua, A Yaqui Village in Arizona, Chicago, 1940.

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isolation is quite voluntary. The separation between the low and the rest is, however, largely involuntary. The isolation in this case is not quite as complete as that of the rich family.

Social communication is a very subtle factor in human cooperation. As there are so many factors conditioning and, in a way, hindering the process of free communication, P'ing-chiao-tsun is not a very integrated whole. Collective action,[27] if it exists at all, is in need of a sound basis. Thus the principle of political inaction has its root in social communication.

Urbanization

In many respects, the village folks may have their characteristic ways of life; P'ing-chiao-tsun, nevertheless, is a part of the larger community of Peiping, economically, politically and socially.

P'ing-chiao-tsun is at present connected with the city of Peiping by two highways and one railway line.[28] Bus services are available at a distance of four miles and the railway station is about one mile away. No rickshaws are available in the village, but their supply is plentiful in the nearest town about a mile away. Only one bicycle is found and it is the property of the school principal. On business trips, the villagers may use their own carts, hire a rickshaw, or use the railway. On pleasure trips, they prefer to economize their financial resources at the expense of their own organic energy. The time-distance on foot is about two hours to the nearest city-gate. Unless on very special occasions, females have very little chance to see the city. The school principal is the most frequent visitor to the city.

Agricultural products are sold if at all to the agents in the nearest market-town, and very seldom directly to merchants in the city. There are, however, two families in the village which have duck-raising as their occupation. On the days of temple-fairs in the city, the heads of the families with their assistants drive their stock to their customary market-places. These two families have their interests more in the city than in the village. Mr. W-, the head of

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27 On general sociological principles of social interaction and collective action, see R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, **Introduction to the Science of Sociology**, Chicago, 1924; also Richard T. LaPiere, **Collective Behavior**, New York, 1938.

28 On the influences of communication agencies upon social life, see M. M. Willey and S. A. Rice. **Communication Agencies and Social Life**, New York, 1933.